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11. Farewell Dinner at the Bride's Home

584 The solemnities begin at the bride's home the day preceding
 585 the wedding. They are often richer and noisier than the ones at the groom's home on the day of the wedding. They have a special character. No guest of the groom's family is present at this festivity; it is given solely in honor of the relatives of the bride's family and intimate friends. Nobody is invited. It is up to each one to judge whether his relations with the celebrating family permit his presence. The more influence the family has, the more numerous will be the intimate friends. With us, such an uncertainty about the number of guests would be very annoying for the service and would cause a good many surprises at the dinner. Here, this is the least of their worries, for the custom of bringing loaves of bread in the guise of gifts can provide for every eventuality.

585 In the first place, one notices among the guests the members
 586 of the family of the bride's mother. They will never fail to be present at the festivity. They consider their presence not /41/ only a duty but a right; thus their absence would be unjustifiable. The elders of the mother's clan are always present. Truly odd way of thinking, they do not go to the festivity to enhance its solemnity nor to give evidence of their friendship to the family, but tanquam potestatem habentes /"as having authority"/. They see in the girl who is leaving the family their daughter who is leaving them; they wish to be present at her departure and show themselves her protectors. One feels in this the unity of the family, one sees in it a feeling of strong cohesiveness; it is the clan which is there at the dinner. They will absent themselves from the dinner at the groom's home, but never from the one at the bride's.

Among the guests are also seen the members of the paternal side of the girl, friends and neighbors. The members of the mother's family take precedence at the dinner.

585 The Orient is pre-eminently the land of ceremonies; at fes-
 586 [183] tivities the guests require that they be rigorously observed; if not, although treated royally, they will not be satisfied and in the whole region criticisms will go about at a good round pace.

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- 585 For the son-in-law: 1) Chinese cap
431 2) lined or plain garment of checked calico,
583 blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers
5) a big Tibetan k'ata, which will be put
around his neck (1)

1. K'ata (Tibetan, khatabags) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt

For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt

For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt

For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt

For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow

For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings

For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or k'ata

For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief

For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long

For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big k'ata, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool

For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

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585 drops, "silver rings.... It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i. e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must
sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the
son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer
will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents
some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortgaged
these lands to the Peq family; later it sold them to the Heou family.
The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds
a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against
the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the
Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge
lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese
court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently,
the king of Orat of the confederation of Olantsh'ah, giving his daugh-
ter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the
Ortoq, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Sainnoor (30 li
southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six
long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends
on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts;
they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especial-
ly those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and
months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination
is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been
covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the
sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair
style of unmarried girls.

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bān-sān tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

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With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[638 cont.]

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[171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

[302] During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

[301] Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

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[593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

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[602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
 782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
 792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
 465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
 [272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
 [262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
 buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
 temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
 [788] In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
 butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
 temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
 month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
 night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
 prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
 [556] to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
 dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
 of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
 [432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
 the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
 services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
 602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
 a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

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13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes respect, called

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.]
hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the
male descendants and relatives of the
first and second degree, for example,
younger brothers, younger cousins,
grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning un-
til the eve of the cremation.

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They must be informed, however, immediately after the
death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's
brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In
recent times the Tujen announce
the death to the mother's brother
by means of a written communica-
tion, like the Chinese. The origi-
nal practice, however, is the an-
nouncement with the liquor-jug, to
which is tied a flock of wool.

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The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how
large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent
upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master
of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor to-
gether. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns
home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the
bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times.
(A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the ac-
counting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and
with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears
in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

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[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly

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15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudē, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani sāni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, urog, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

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} [Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.]
father his mother's brother is the person
of respect, who in case of death demands
an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia
have the same signs; only the pronuncia-
tion is different. Literally translated it
means [655] "the outside family," in
other words, not belonging to the male
line. Instead of wai-chia one also says
niang-chia, which designates the family
from which the mother comes. This
expression is also used for the family
of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried.
-- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not
appear until the day before the cremation.

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The mother's brother is Solemnly

764 received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
602 There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and
604 kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great
[782] bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The
mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's
brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is
given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other com-
panions are given hospitality outside in the yard where every-
thing is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the ac-
counting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits
on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly
before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to
the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front
of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to
the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are sup-
posed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking,
tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousin-
hood on the father's side (18). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the
interment, the Tujen have the

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[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.]
following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him kānguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the kānguo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability
it is to catch the mirror images of the
boys who have been brought before the
Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age,
receive the age-consecration and become a member of the ●
monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman,
from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring
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[372] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica-
tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

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[792] Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed
with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of
ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the
nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and
no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of
[372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to
it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is
desirable, but not essential.

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● 602 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
days for the bone storage. During these three days the members
of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there,
kowitz, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the
father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea.
Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the
men and women of the deceased's own family and at least
one man, but no women, of the related families, and further-
more the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The
relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the
[782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of
thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowitzed, men and women dig the bones
out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Ow-
 ing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor
 clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests per-
 forming rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy
 Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional
 scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming
 to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them
 Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and sha-
 manist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and sha-
 manism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position,
 and has been an overwhelming influence in the country
 of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout
 the country, there is a monastery. As many as three
 hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others
 thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thou-
 sand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings
 in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders,
 owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and
 cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese
 officials because of the protection bestowed upon them
 by the Central Government of Peking. The moral in-
 fluence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its mem-
 bers, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries.
 Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious
 institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real sup-
 porters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be
 Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries
 in his territory and granted large property rights to
 them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamas-
 eries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu
 built the once outstanding lamaserie of Ta-fo-ssu in the
 center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of
 each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of
 some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout
 the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan.
 The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at
 the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder
 the people follow the example set by their chief and
 adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism
 throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example
 set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as
 the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan
 Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas,
 reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to
 be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism,
 the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and
 occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anom-
 ally is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

[A (B)]